342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by [824] slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano
•[162] maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only [287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

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•162
797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

Cosmogony

*539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177]

4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177]

5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And, those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramĩ," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamĩ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabĩ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamĩ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabĩ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamĩ or axkabĩ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamĩ of D and E and axkabĩ of A and B.

[126] [162]

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.